

## Message Text

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: GW, OVIP (ROCKEFELLER, NELSON)  
SUBJECT: DRAFT TEXT FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT TEXT PROPOSED BY THE EMBASSY FOR  
THE MAY 15 ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT AT THE PAULS-  
KIRCHE:

BEGIN TEXT: PRESIDENT SCHEEL, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT,  
VICE-CHANCELLOR GENSCHER, (CDU GUEST), LADIES AND  
GENTLEMEN:

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE IN THIS HISTORIC BUILDING TO  
COMMENORATE PUBLICLY WITH YOU TODAY THE BICENTENNIAL  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE ISSUANCE ON JULY 4, 1776, OF THE  
AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE -- A DATE OFFI-  
CIALY RECOGNIZED BY MY GOVERNMENT AS THE BIRTHDAY OF  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. I AM GRATEFUL ESPECIALLY  
TO THE DIRECTORS AND MEMBERS OF THE STEUBEN-SCHURZ-  
GESELLSCHAFT AND THE ATLANTIK-BRUECKE FOR ARRANGING  
THIS OCCASION.

I COME AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF PRESIDENT FORD AND THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH A TWOFOOLD PURPOSE IN MIND:  
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-- FIRST, I DESIRE TO SHARE WITH YOU THE JOY, THE

HAPPINESS, THE THANKFULNESS THAT AMERICA IS EXPERIENCING IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR;  
-- I ALSO, HOWEVER, WISH TO EXPRESS THE DEEP GRATITUDE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TOWARD THE GERMAN PEOPLE FOR THE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS YOU HAVE MADE OVER THE PAST TWO CENTURIES TO THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND THE WAY OF LIFE WHICH WE THIS YEAR EXTOL. INDEED, THE OFFICIAL RECOGNITION ACCORDED THE AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, BY THE PEOPLE IN LOCAL AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN BERLIN, IN BAVARIA, IN BADEN-WUERTTEMBERG, IN BREMEN AND HAMBURG, IN HESSE AND LOWER SAXONY, IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA AND IN THE SAARLAND, IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN AND IN THE RHINELAND-PALATINATE, IS UNMATCHED IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

THIS OBSERVANCE IN GERMANY I SEE AS AN INDICATION OF THE PAST DYNAMIC CONNECTION BETWEEN THE GERMAN AND AMERICAN PEOPLES, OF OUR PRESENT CLOSE ALLIANCE THROUGH THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES, AND OF HOPES FOR CONTINUATION IN THE FUTURE OF THIS VALUED RELATIONSHIP...IN A WORLD WHICH WILL REQUIRE THE UTMOST EFFORTS OF ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL AS WE SEEK TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF THE LAST QUARTER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

IT IS FITTING THAT WE GATHER HERE THIS MORNING IN FRANKFURT. THIS IMPORTANT CENTER OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAS MANY HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES. THIS LINK EXTENDS FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE WRITINGS OF ITS FAMOUS NATIVE SON GOETHE TO THOSE OF THE EMIGRANT ACADEMICIANS OF THE 1930'S, AND INTO THE PRESENT. COUNTLESS AMERICANS HAVE HAD DIRECT CONTACT WITH FRANKFURT, ESPECIALLY IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IN AMERICA WE HAVE RECOGNIZED ITS SIGNIFICANCE NOT ONLY BY TRANSFERRING ITS NAME TO THE MOST TYPICAL OF AMERICAN DELICACIES, BUT ALSO BY NAMING IN ITS HONOR THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE DYNAMIC, SCENIC STATE OF KENTUCKY.

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MOST OF ALL, HOWEVER, I AM HONORED TO BE IN FRANKFURT TODAY BECAUSE OF THE UNIQUE TRADITION OF THE BUILDING IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES GATHERED HERE...THE "PAULSKIRCHE."

THE 800 MEN WHO GATHERED ON MAY 18, 1848 HAD MANY OF THE SAME PURPOSES IN MIND AS THOSE COLONIAL AMERICAN LEADERS WHO GATHERED AT INDEPENDENCE HALL IN PHILADELPHIA SOME

200 YEARS AGO. FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON, ADAMS, HANCOCK...  
THESE WERE MEN FROM THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF BRITISH  
COLONIAL AMERICA WHO REALIZED THAT A NEW BEGINNING WAS

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NECESSARY IN THE AUTOCRATIC SOCIETY IN WHICH THEY FOUND THEMSELVES. THE CRY OF THE AMERICAN PATRIOTS FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE RIGHT OF HUMAN BEINGS TO "LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS" REFLECTED THE PRINCIPAL BASIS OF THE WESTERN HUMANISTIC TRADITION, AS IT HAD BEEN DEVELOPED IN EUROPE AND TRANSFERRED TO THE NEW WORLD.

(AMERICAN OBSERVANCE)

OUR 200TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION HAS PROVIDED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO RE-EXAMINE THEIR PAST, CONSIDER THEIR PRESENT, AND PLAN FOR THE FUTURE. THIS IS A PROCESS WHICH BEGAN WITH THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE OFFICIAL CELEBRATION ON APRIL 19 OF LAST YEAR IN MASSACHUSETTS, SITE OF THE BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD THAT SIGNALLED THE OUTBREAK OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

IN A SPEECH DELIVERED IN NEW ORLEANS SHORTLY THEREAFTER PRESIDENT FORD URGED THAT AMERICANS STOP REFIGHTING THE

BATTLES AND RECRIMINATIONS OF THE PAST, AND THAT WE  
INSTEAD LOOK NOW AT WHAT IS RIGHT WITH AMERICA, "AT OUR  
POSSIBILITIES AND OUR POTENTIALS FOR CHANGE AND GROWTH,  
ACHIEVEMENT AND SHARING." THE PRESIDENT ASKED THAT "WE  
STRIVE TO BECOME, IN THE FINEST AMERICAN TRADITION,  
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SOMETHING MORE TOMORROW THAN WE ARE TODAY." HE ADDED:  
"IT IS TRUE THAT WE HAVE LAUNCHED OUR BICENTENNIAL  
CELEBRATION WITHOUT HAVING ACHIEVED HUMAN PERFECTION,  
BUT WE HAVE ATTAINED A VERY REMARKABLE SELF-GOVERNED  
SOCIETY THAT POSSESSES THE FLEXIBILITY AND THE  
DYNAMISM TO GROW AND UNDERTAKE AN ENTIRELY NEW  
AGENDA, AN AGENDA FOR AMERICA'S THIRD CENTURY."

AMERICANS TOOK THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS TO HEART. WE ARE  
CELEBRATING OUR BICENTENNIAL WITH CREATIVE JOY. THIS  
IS NOT MERELY A SOMBER EVENT.

ALL OVER OUR NATION AMERICAN COMMUNITIES ARE PARTICIPAT-  
ING IN A VARIETY OF COMMEMORATIVE EVENTS.

-- THUS, IN EARLY JULY, THE CITY OF NEW YORK WILL HOST  
"OPERATION SAIL '76Z IN WHICH SOME 150 SAILING SHIPS  
FROM AROUND THE WORLD WILL GATHER FOR AN INTERNATIONAL  
SALUTE TO THE BICENTENNIAL AND THE NATION'S MARITIME  
HERITAGE; THE EVENT WILL CULMINATE IN A PARADE OF THE  
GREAT SAILING SHIPS AROUND NEW YORK ON JULY 4.

-- THUS, A WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE WILL CONVENE JUNE 27  
THROUGH JULY 1, 1976, AT IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY...AN  
INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM THAT WILL FEATURE EXPERTS IN  
NUTRITION, AGRICULTURE AND FOOD TECHNOLOGY FROM THROUGH-  
OUT THE WORLD, GATHERED TO EXPLORE WAYS OF FEEDING ALL  
NATIONS BETTER.

-- THUS, THE PEOPLE OF SAN FRANCISCO BAKED A 35,000  
POUND BIRTHDAY CAKE, THE WORLD'S LARGEST, MUCH OF WHICH  
WAS THEN CUT INTO PIECES FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIAL  
AGENCIES AND CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CITY.

-- THUS, THE AMERICAN THEATER, AMERICAN MUSIC, THE ARTS  
IN GENERAL ARE BEING REVITALIZED WITH AN OUTPOURING OF  
NEW WORKS FROM THE NATION'S PLAYWRIGHTS, COMPOSERS AND  
ARTISTS AND FROM THE NATION'S CAMPUSES AND CIVIC AND  
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, NOT TO MENTION THE MANY BI-  
CENTENNIAL POEMS, HYMNS AND ANTHEMS FROM THE PENS OF  
ORDINARY CITIZENS.

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MOST OF THE BICENTENNIAL PROGRAMS ARE STIMULATING THOUGHT AND COMMENT ON THE FOUNDING PRINCIPLES OF OUR COUNTRY AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE REFLECTED BY PRESENT GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS. ALTHOUGH AMERICANS MAY BE FRUSTRATED BY SOME OF THE DIRECTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, DEBATE AND DISCUSSIONS TIED IN WITH MANY OF THE BICENTENNIAL OBSERVANCES WILL IMPROVE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND CITIZEN. THE NATION-WIDE DIALOGUE CONCERNING BASIC ISSUES WHICH HAVE CONFRONTED AMERICA SINCE 1776, NOW TAKING PLACE IN THOUSANDS OF COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY, REFLECTS THE BASIC CONCERN OF AMERICANS WITH PRESENT AND FUTURE PROBLEMS.

THIS IS AN EXCITING TIME FOR OUR NATION'S ETHNIC AND RACIAL GROUPS, HOLDING THE PROMISE OF NEW PERCEPTIONS OF THE NATION'S PLURALISTIC CHARACTER AND A DIMINISHING OF DIFFERENCES AND TENSIONS. THIS WAS, FOR EXAMPLE,

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LIMDIS

MIRRORED IN AN EDITORIAL BY A MAJOR AMERICAN JOURNAL ON

THE REACTION BY AMERICA'S BLACK COMMUNITY TO THIS ANNIVERSARY. THIS PITHY COMMENT READ: "WE CANNOT CELEBRATE BUT WE CAN COMMEMORATE TWO CENTURIES OF BRAVE PROGRESS AGAINST TREMENDOUS ODDS."

AMERICANS ALSO REMAIN AWARE IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR OF THE NECESSITY TO CONSIDER THE SPIRITUAL VALUES WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO OUR HERITAGE. PRESIDENT FORD MARKED THE OUTSET OF THIS BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION WITH A PROCLAMATION OF A NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER, IN WHICH HE DECLARED: "AS WE PREPARE TO MARK THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF OUR NATION, IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT AMERICANS WILL NOT FORGET THAT IT WAS PRAYER THAT HELPED TO FORGE OUR FREEDOM AND FOSTER OUR LIBERTIES."

PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST IMPRESSIVE LOCAL DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE SPIRITUAL THRUST BEING GIVEN TO THE BICENTENNIAL TOOK PLACE IN DALLAS, TEXAS, LAST FALL, WHEN THE DALLAS AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL CORPORATION AND THE GREATER DALLAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES JOINED IN SPONSORING A MAMMOTH BICENTENNIAL RELIGIOUS CELEBRATION AFFIRMING THE NATION'S DEPENDENCE ON GOD. SOME 14,000 PERSONS PARTICIPATED, REPRESENTING THE 1200 CHURCHES AND SYNAGOGUES IN DALLAS COUNTY AS WELL AS THE AREA'S LOCAL

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GOVERNMENTS, EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AND INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

WHILE CELEBRATION OF THE BICENTENNIAL HAS MEANT INWARD REFLECTION, IT HAS ALSO MEANT REFLECTIONS ON OUR CHANGING RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS. THOSE OF US WHO MAY HAVE FELT AT ONE TIME THAT AMERICA ALONE WAS THE NATION THAT MATTERED ARE MORE AND MORE A MINORITY. THE BICENTENNIAL PROGRAM OF THE PHILADELPHIA WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL HAS RECOGNIZED THIS, AND HAS, THEREFORE, INITIATED A SPECIAL DISCUSSION ON WORLD INTERDEPENDENCE. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAM ARE SUMMARIZED IN A PARAPHRASED PREAMBLE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY PROFESSOR HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, ONE OF AMERICA'S FOREMOST HISTORIANS, INTO A DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE, AS FOLLOWS:

"WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS THE THREAT OF EXTINCTION CONFRONTS MANKIND, IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO DECLARE THEIR INTERDEPENDENCE WITH THE PEOPLES OF ALL NATIONS AND TO EMBRACE THOSE PRINCIPLES AND BUILD THOSE INSTITUTIONS WHICH WILL ENABLE MANKIND TO SURVIVE AND CIVILIZATION TO FLOURISH."

ONE FINAL POINT I SHOULD LIKE TO ADD CONCERNING AMERICA'S COMMEMORATION OF THE BICENTENNIAL IS THE GROWING REALIZATION BY AMERICANS THAT JUST AS WE HAVE BEEN ENDOWED BY OUR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN RIGHTS, SO ALSO WE HAVE RECEIVED CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITIES. HARD WORK, WE ACKNOWLEDGE, IS NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THE KIND OF FREE AND HAPPY EXISTENCE FOR WHICH WE LONG.

(REVOLUTIONARY CONNECTION)

THE DIRECT GERMAN CONNECTION TO AMERICA DATES FROM THE TIMES OF THE EARLIEST EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

ALREADY IN 1775 THERE WERE ABOUT 225,000 GERMANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES, INCLUDING SEVERAL OF MY OWN ANCESTORS. THEY WERE CLUSTERED INITIALLY IN NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA, WHICH WERE LATER

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TO SERVE AS SITES OF THE FIRST TWO CAPITALS OF THE INFANT REPUBLIC...NEW YORK CITY AND PHILADELPHIA. THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM RELIGIOUS TENETS WHICH AIDED IN THE EARLY ESTABLISHMENT IN AMERICA OF CATHOLIC, LUTHERAN, REFORMED, MENNONITE, MORAVIAN, AND JEWISH CONGREGATIONS. ONE OF THE FOREMOST EXPONENTS OF THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE AND OF THE EARLY STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE WAS, OF COURSE, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. HIS WRITINGS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN DEVELOPING SUPPORT FOR THE AMERICAN CAUSE IN GERMAN AREAS. WE KNOW, IN FACT, THAT GOETHE IN 1775 WAS AWARE OF BOTH FRANKLIN AS WELL AS WASHINGTON, AND THAT HE WISHED THE AMERICAN CAUSE WELL.

ONE CAN UNFORTUNATELY ALL TOO EASILY FORM THE MISTAKEN IMPRESSION THAT GERMAN REACTION TO THE AMERICAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE WAS CHIEFLY MARKED BY THE 30,000 HESSIAN MERCENARIES WHO FOUGHT FOR THE CAUSE OF BRITAIN'S

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GEORGE III. THIS WAS NOT AT ALL THE CASE. IN FACT,  
MANY OF THE HESSIAN SOLDIERS EVEN DESERTED AND CAME OVER  
TO THE AMERICAN SIDE, ONCE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY. MANY  
SETTLED AFTER THE WAR IN WHAT WAS TO BECOME THE UNITED  
STATES.

MAY I CITE JUST TWO ILLUSTRATIONS OF EFFORTS BY GERMANS  
IN SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION:

-- THE GERMAN-BORN PHILADELPHIA PUBLISHER HENRICH MUELLER  
PRINTED THE NEWS OF THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF  
INDEPENDENCE BEFORE ANY OTHER NEWSPAPER IN THE  
COLONIES.

-- ANOTHER GERMAN-AMERICAN, THE REV. PETER MUEHLENBERG,  
IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION PREACHED A SER-  
MON BASED ON A TEXT OF "ECCLESIASTES": "TO EVERY  
THING THERE IS A SEASON AND A TIME TO EVERY PURPOSE  
UNDER THE HEAVEN..." MUEHLENBERG THEN ADDED: "...  
A TIME OF WAR AND A TIME OF PEACE--A TIME TO PRAY AND  
A TIME TO PREACH--BUT THOSE TIMES HAVE PASSED AWAY;  
THERE IS (A) TIME TO FIGHT, AND THE TIME TO FIGHT HAS  
COME." HE THEN PRONOUNCED THE BENEDICTION, THREW OFF  
HIS MINISTERIAL VESTMENTS, AND STOOD BEFORE HIS CON-  
GREGATION IN THE UNIFORM OF A COLONEL IN WASHINGTON'S  
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CONTINENTAL ARMY. THE CONGREGATION THEN ROSE TO SING  
LUTHER'S GREAT HYMN "EIN FESTE BURG IST UNSER GOTT"  
AND MARCHED TO ENLIST IN THE ARMY THAT VON STEUBEN  
WAS TO TURN FROM A RABBLE INTO A FINE FIGHTING FORCE.

THE CONTRIBUTION MADE BY PRUSSIA'S FRIEDRICH WILHELM

VON STEUBEN WAS PERHAPS THE MAJOR FACTOR IN DEVELOPING THE CAPABILITIES OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, A FORCE THAT VON STEUBEN BROUGHT FROM THE DEPTHS OF A DESPAIRING WINTER ENCAMPMENT AT VALLEY FORGE TO THE FINAL VICTORY AT YORKTOWN. HIS MANUAL, "REGULATIONS FOR THE ORDER AND DISCIPLINE OF THE TROOPS OF THE UNITED STATES" PROVIDED THE NECESSARY BASIS FOR TURNING PATRIOTIC MILITIAMEN INTO A TRUE ARMY.

(THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENT)  
THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE WAS SUPPLEMENTED BY A PERIOD OF RAPID EXPANSION IN THE NEW NATION AND BY CONCENTRATION ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. NONETHELESS, THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT WAS THE ONLY MAJOR GOVERNMENT THAT SAW FIT TO SEND GREETINGS TO THE GERMAN PATRIOTS WHO GATHERED FOR THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENT IN THE "PAULSKIRCHE." THE AMERICAN PRESS FOLLOWED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE FORTUNES OF THIS MEETING, AND AMERICANS DEEPLY REGRETTED THE LACK OF SUCCESS OF THIS DEMOCRATIC MILESTONE.

COPIES OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION WERE ON HAND AT THE "PAULSKIRCHE" DEBATES. AT LEAST FIVE OF THE DELEGATES--TELLKAMPF, RAUMER, DUCKWITZ, ROENNE AND MOERING--HAD ALREADY BEEN IN THE UNITED STATES. IN ADDITION, MANY OF THE DELEGATES WERE FAMILIAR WITH THE EXTENSIVE LITERATURE ON AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS, PARTICULARLY AS A RESULT OF READING THE IMMENSELY POPULAR EARLY TRANSLATION INTO GERMAN OF DE TOCQUEVILLE'S MASTERPIECE ... "DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA." THE FASCINATING DEBATES WHICH OCCURRED IN THIS BUILDING IN 1848 OFTEN THUS TURNED ON WHAT COMPROMISES HAD TO BE MADE TO ADAPT THE AMERICAN PATTERN TO GERMAN CONDITIONS.

THE STRENGTHS OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM WERE AS WELL KNOWN  
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AS ITS WEAKNESSES, SUCH AS SLAVERY, WHICH STILL EXISTED DURING THAT PERIOD IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF LETTERS SENT BACK BY GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES SPOKE FRANKLY BOTH OF THE POSITIVE AND OF THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. THE REPUTATION OF THE UNITED STATES NEVERTHELESS PROFITED BY ITS OPENNESS IN 1848, JUST AS IT DOES NEARLY THIRTEEN DECADES LATER IN 1976.

THE REMARKABLE AMERICAN BACKGROUND OF THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENTARIANS INFLUENCED THE ENTIRE CONSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSION THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE "PAULSKIRCHE" DURING THAT NOTABLE PERIOD AS WELL AS THE FINAL DRAFT REICH'S CON-

STITUTION THAT RESULTED.

(MUTUAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES)

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THE CLOSE AWARENESS THAT THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENTARIANS HAD OF THE UNITED STATES WAS, OF COURSE, LARGELY ATTRIBUTED TO THE AUTHORS AND LITERARY WORKS THAT HAD MADE THEIR WAY ACROSS THE OCEAN DURING THE LATE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURY. THIS IS A TRADITION THAT CONTINUED ON UP TO THE MODERN AGE, AND SO PERHAPS I SHOULD, THEREFORE, ADD A FEW WORDS HERE ABOUT THE PECULIAR CULTURAL INFLUENCE THE MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF GERMAN AND AMERICAN WRITINGS HAVE HAD IN INFLUENCING THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

WE ARE AWARE THAT MOST CERTAINLY THOMAS JEFFERSON'S PLAN FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA WAS INFLUENCED BY ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT'S VIEWS OF EDUCATION, AS INDEED WERE MANY SUBSEQUENT UNIVERSITY ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

MUCH OF THE HEART OF EARLY AMERICAN POETRY DERIVES FROM GERMAN INFLUENCE. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW WAS BY TEMPERAMENT AND BACKGROUND IMBUED MORE THAN MOST OTHERS

BY GERMAN SENTIMENT AND SONG. THE QUAKER POET JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER WAS CERTAINLY INFLUENCED BY GERMAN-AMERICAN LIBERAL PUBLICATIONS AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY TRADITION OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS. THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR THOREAU AND WALT WHITMAN.

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SEVERAL OF THE EARLY AMERICAN NOVELISTS, INCLUDING JAMES FENIMORE COOPER AND HERMAN MELVILLE, ALSO WERE STIRRED BY GERMAN THOUGHT. THIS CONTINUED INTO THE LATTER PART OF THE 19TH CENTURY, TYPIFIED BY NONE OTHER THAN THAT MOST AMERICAN OF ALL AMERICAN WRITERS, MARK TWAIN. ON JULY 4, 1879, WE KNOW THAT TWAIN ADDRESSED A GROUP OF AMERICAN STUDENTS IN NEARBY HEIDELBERG. THIS OCCURRED SHORTLY AFTER HE HAD WRITTEN IN HIS INIMITABLE STYLE TO AN AMERICAN FRIEND: "ICH HAVE DAS DEUTSCHE SPRACHE GELERNNT UND BIN EIN GLUECKLICHER KIND, YOU BET."

(SIC)

THIS GERMAN CONNECTION CONTINUED THROUGH THE TURN OF THE CENTURY WITH THE APPEARANCE OF THE CLASSIC AMERICAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, "THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS." THIS LITERARY LIFE OF THE GRANDSON AND GREAT-GRANDSON OF TWO AMERICAN PRESIDENTS WAS INSPIRED BY GOETHE'S "AUTOBIOGRAPHY" AND "WILHELM MEISTER" AMONGST MANY OTHER GERMAN WORKS.

CERTAINLY IN THE 20TH CENTURY THE INFLUENCE OF STYLE BACK AND FORTH ACROSS THE OCEAN BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY HAS ALSO BEEN PRODIGIOUS. JACK LONDON'S INFLUENCE ON GERMAN SOCIALISTS AND THE WRITINGS OF SINCLAIR LEWIS, HENRY MENCKEN AND THEODORE DREISER IMMEDIATELY COME TO MIND. AND, OF COURSE, THE HERITAGE WE MUTUALLY SHARE OF NOBEL PRIZE WINNER THOMAS MANN CAN NEVER GO UNNOTICED.

(THE FORTY-EIGHTERS)

FOLLOWING THE TRAGIC SUPPRESSION OF THE LIBERAL TENDENCIES OF THE 1848 UPRIISINGS AND THE ABORTED FRANKFURT PARLIAMENT, MANY GERMAN LIBERALS OF THIS PERIOD FLED TO THE UNITED STATES IN ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND FORTUNATE IMMIGRATIONS OF OUR HISTORY. THESE LIBERALS WERE SUBSEQUENTLY TO BECOME A KEY AND VITAL PART OF THE NEARLY ONE MILLION GERMANS WHO IMMIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE FOLLOWING DECADE.

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THE ZEAL AND TACTICS OF THESE FORTY-EIGHTERS, MANY OF WHOM WERE JOURNALISTS, LED TO VITAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND AN INDELIBLE MARK IN THE ANNALS OF OUR HISTORY. TO THE LAND FAR OVER THE SEA THEY CAME WITH THEIR LIBERAL TRADITIONS, IN THE HOPE BOTH TO ADD THEIR PART TO THE AMERICAN "GEIST" AND TO USE THIS AS A SPRINGBOARD FROM WHICH THEY MIGHT ONE DAY HOPE RETURN TO CHANGE GERMANY.

THESE FORTY-EIGHTERS PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE UNITED STATES. THEY ALSO PLAYED A MAIN PART IN KEEPING THE STATES OF MISSOURI AND ILLINOIS IN THE UNION, DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

THE MOST FAMOUS OF THE FORTY-EIGHT EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA BY FAR, AND INDEED THE LEGENDARY EMBODIMENT OF THE HISTORIC GOOD IN THE GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP, WAS, OF COURSE, CARL SCHURZ. THIS FORMER BONN UNIVERSITY STUDENT,

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FORCED INTO EXILE BY VIRTUE OF HIS REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY,

WAS ONLY 23 YEARS OLD WHEN HE ARRIVED IN 1852 IN NEW YORK. NEVERTHELESS, WITHIN 16 YEARS HE WAS TO BECOME A MINISTER TO SPAIN, A CIVIL WAR GENERAL, A UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MISSOURI, AND SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR UNDER PRESIDENT HAYES. SCHURZ WAS A CHAMPION FOR REFORM OF THE CIVIL SERVICE, A LEADING SUPPORTER OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, AND AN UNENDING ADVOCATE OF THE INDIAN CAUSE. LONG AFTER HIS DEATH HE REMAINS A REMARKABLE CHARACTER, ONE WHO PERSONIFIED THE MANY CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FORTY-EIGHTERS TO AMERICAN SOCIETY. HE WAS ALWAYS AT THE SERVICE OF LINCOLN, A MAN WHOSE FRIENDSHIP OUR CIVIL WAR PRESIDENT VALUED AS FEW OTHERS. UPON SCHURZ'S DEATH TWAIN COULD SAY WITH NO HESITATION:

"I HAD THE HIGHEST OPINION OF HIS INBORN QUALIFICATIONS FOR OFFICE: HIS BLEMISHLESS HONORS, HIS UNASSAILABLE PATRIOTISM, HIS HIGH INTELLIGENCE..."

THOSE ADVOCATES OF GERMAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP WHO HAVE SELECTED SCHURZ AS THEIR PATRON CHOSE WELL.

A PRINCIPAL GROUND FOR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SCHURZ AND HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE FORTY-EIGHTERS MOVEMENT WAS THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE UNITED STATES "WARTS AND ALL" AND THEIR AMAZING ABILITY TO FORGE THEIR HIGH IDEALISM

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INTO A SERIES OF PRACTICAL STEPS FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THEIR NEW COUNTRY, WITH RESULTS FROM WHICH AMERICANS STILL BENEFIT.

A FAVORITE DESCRIPTION OF MINE OF THE IMPACT THAT THE FORTY-EIGHTERS HAD ON AMERICAN SOCIETY IS ONE TAKEN FROM AN ADDRESS BY DR. EDMUND JAMES, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR CARL SCHURZ HELD JUNE 3, 1906. AT THAT TIME JAMES DESCRIBED THE ANTI-SLAVERY EFFORTS OF THIS GROUP IN THE FOLLOWING WORDS:

"...THEY WERE MEN WHO HAD SUFFERED IN BEHALF OF LIBERTY; THEY WERE MEN WHO HAD STAKED THEIR ENTIRE CAREERS ON THE SIDE OF FREEDOM IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE BETWEEN PRIVILEGE AND DEMOCRACY; THEY WERE PROPHETS; THEY WERE SEERS; THEY WERE IDEALISTS, THEY SAW OR THOUGHT THEY SAW WHAT WAS RIGHT, AND THEY PLANTED THEMSELVES FIRMLY AND DISTINCTLY ON THAT SIDE WITH NO HESITATION AND NO WAVERING. THEY RALLIED TO A MAN TO THE STANDARD OF THE UNION AND OF FREEDOM.

"THE INFLUENCE OF THE FORTY-EIGHTERS AT THIS GREAT AND CRITICAL TIME OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE WAS, TO MY MIND, DECISIVE. THEY TURNED THE BALANCE OF POWER

IN FAVOR OF UNION AND LIBERTY..."

(THE PRESENT SCENE)

THE TWO WORLD WARS IN THE FIRST PART OF THIS CENTURY  
WHICH SAW US ALIGNED ON OPPOSING SIDES NATURALLY STRAINED  
THE MANY CLOSE TIES THAT DEVELOPED IN THE 18TH AND 19TH  
CENTURIES. FATHERS, BROTHERS AND SONS FELL IN THESE CON-  
FLICTS, LEAVING PAINFUL MEMORIES AMONGST OUR TWO PEOPLES.  
THE NAZI TERROR IN PARTICULAR LEFT A MARK WHICH CANNOT  
BE FORGOTTEN. YET THE HISTORIC TIES THAT BIND GERMANY  
AND THE UNITED STATES SURVIVED HITLER'S LEGACY, AND WE  
KNOW THAT COUNTLESS GERMANS ALSO SUFFERED STEADFASTLY  
UNDER HIM IN FERVENT HOPES OF BETTER DAYS TO COME.  
1976 FINDS THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE UNITED STATES  
TWO OF THE MAIN BULWARKS OF THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC AND  
REPUBLICAN TRADITIONS OF JEFFERSON, LINCOLN AND SCHURZ.

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THE TIMES HAVE, OF COURSE, ADDED TO THE TIES THAT BIND  
US. NATO IS A FURTHER SIGN OF OUR SHARED GOALS. THE  
UNITED NATIONS, THE OECD, THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY  
AGENCY ARE YET OTHERS. YOU, OF COURSE, NOW HAVE YOUR  
CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH EIGHT OTHER DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES  
IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, A UNITY WHICH PLEASES MY  
GOVERNMENT.

MANY OF THE DIFFERENCES OF 1848 BETWEEN OUR TWO SOCIETIES  
HAVE LONG SINCE DISAPPEARED, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE HAPPY  
OUTCOME OF THE 1948 DISCUSSION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
THE FEDERATIVE GOVERNMENT FORM HERE IN THE FEDERAL REPUB-  
LIC. (NEED I REMIND YOU OF HOW FORTUNATE WE WERE TO  
HAVE SUCH OUTSTANDING AMERICAN STATESMEN AS LUCIUS CLAY,  
JOHN MCCLOY, AND JAMES CONANT REPRESENTING US THAT TIME,  
OR SUCH A SENSITIVE MIND AS CARL FRIEDRICH ADVISING THE  
AUTHORS OF THE BASIC LAW.) THERE ARE, OF COURSE, STILL  
SEVERAL FACTORS THAT DISTINGUISH OUR GOVERNMENTS AND

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PEOPLES IN FORM AND CHARACTERISTICS. AND, WHY NOT?  
AS I VIEW THESE DISTINCTIONS MOST OF THEM ARE HEALTHY  
AND NATURAL, AND GENERALLY BEST LEFT INTACT.

OUR TWO SOCIETIES, HOWEVER, SHARE COMMON GOALS: RESPECT  
FOR LIFE AND LIBERTY, FOR FREEDOM PEACEFULLY TO OPPOSE  
GOVERNMENT POLICIES, FOR INDEPENDENCE FROM RESTRAINT OF  
MOVEMENT, FOR AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, AND FOR A FREE  
PRESS AND A FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. BLEMISHES STILL  
REMAIN IN BOTH OUR CHARACTERS. AS GOOD FRIENDS WE WEL-  
COME CRITICISM FROM ONE ANOTHER, KNOWING IT GENERALLY IS  
MEANT WELL AND CAN HELP. ON OCCASION, PERHAPS IN A  
MAGAZINE ARTICLE OR A HASTY STATEMENT, ONE MAY GET  
SLIGHTLY CARRIED AWAY. HOWEVER, THE BASIC COMMON POLITI-  
CAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES WE SHARE OVER-  
SHADOW SUCH MINOR DIFFERENCES.

OUR POLITICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS BASED ON DEMOCRATIC  
TRADITIONS, REVEALED MOST PRONOUNCEDLY IN THE ELECTIONS  
THAT BOTH OF OUR NATIONS HOLD EVERY FOUR YEARS, AND  
WHICH SHALL TAKE PLACE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND IN  
THE UNITED STATES DURING THE COMING FALL. THE OPPOR-  
TUNITY WHICH OUR CITIZENS WILL THEREBY HAVE TO DETERMINE  
FOR THEMSELVES WHO SHALL GOVERN AND WHO SHALL OPPOSE IS  
A PRICELESS ADVANTAGE WHICH ALL TOO FEW HAVE IN THE  
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MODERN WORLD TODAY.

WHILE THE PERIOD OF IMMINENT THREAT WHICH SURROUNDED THE  
COLD WAR HAS FORTUNATELY PASSED US BY, WHILE WE TOGETHER  
HAVE LAST SUMMER REACHED AN AGREEMENT ON SECURITY AND

COOPERATION IN EUROPE, AND WHILE WE TODAY FIND OURSELVES NEGOTIATING JOINTLY IN A CONFERENCE FOR MUTUAL, BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION IN EUROPE, WE SHARE AN AWARENESS THAT VIGILANCE REMAINS THE PRICE FOR DEMOCRACY. FOR THAT REASON THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN A SIZEABLE FORCE HERE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC GREATER THAN IN ANY OTHER FOREIGN NATION IN THE WORLD. TOGETHER WITH THE BUNDESWEHR AND OTHER ALLIED FORCES, IT PROVIDES THE SECURITY REQUIRED TO ENABLE US CONFIDENTLY TO STRIVE FOR IMPROVED DETENTE WITH THE NATIONS OF THE WARSAW PACT.

THE PRESENT CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IS A MODEL OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. THOUSANDS OF YOUNG AMERICAN AND GERMAN STUDENTS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY IN ONE ANOTHER'S UNIVERSITIES SINCE THE WAR, AS A RESULT OF THE FAR-SIGHTED EXCHANGES ESTABLISHED UNDER THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM AND THE DAAD (GERMAN ACADEMIC EXCHANGE SERVICE). THE CULTURAL TIES BETWEEN OUR LANDS ARE ALSO EVIDENT IN MANY OTHER FORMS...SUCH AS IN THE THEATER, IN TELEVISION, AND IN THE FILMS. MORE AND MORE, THE MODERN ARTISTS OF OUR TWO NATIONS ARE ABLE TO PROFIT FROM THE TRADITIONS AND TECHNIQUES OF ONE ANOTHER.

PERHAPS THE MOST STRIKING CONNECTION, HOWEVER, WHICH HAS SURFACED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS HAS BEEN THE REALIZATION OF HOW INTERDEPENDENT OUR ECONOMIC LIVES ARE. THE INCREASING RELIANCE BY THE UNITED STATES ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE, THE ENERGY CRISIS, RECENT REFORMS IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM, SHARED INFLATIONARY AND RECESSION PERIODS--ALL THESE ARE INDICATIVE OF THE COMMON POSITION IN WHICH WE NOW FIND OURSELVES. FORTUNATELY, HERE TOO IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE SHOWN HOW THEY CAN WORK TOGETHER AND WITH OTHERS FOR THE GREATER GOOD OF ALL.  
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(THE FUTURE)

BUT WHAT OF THE YEARS THAT LIE AHEAD? CAN WE AFFORD TO RELAX ON THE LAURELS OF SUCH SPIRITUAL FATHERS AS THE FORTY-EIGHTERS IN A NAIVE CONFIDENCE THAT NOTHING CAN POSSIBLY GO WRONG? I THINK NOT.

WE ARE, AFTER ALL, GRADUALLY REACHING A PERIOD IN THE GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH THE SHARED TERROR OF THE WORLD WAR II CHALLENGE AND THE EARLY DAYS OF THE MARSHALL PLAN ARE NO LONGER COMMON BINDING EXPERIENCES.

A NEW GENERATION IS UPON US, IN THE "BUNDESTAG", IN THE "LAND" GOVERNMENTS AND IN THE CONGRESS. WE MUST STRIVE TO MAINTAIN THE GOOD EXCHANGE BETWEEN US IN THIS NEW GENERATION AS WELL AS IN THE YOUNG GENERATION FOLLOWING CLOSELY IN ITS SHADOWS. AFTER ALL, MOST OF THE PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL CONCERN IN OUR ADVANCED INDUS-

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TRIAL DEMOCRACIES CAN, AS PRESIDENT FORD AND CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT OBSERVED AT RAMBOUILLET, ONLY BE HANDLED BY WORKING TOGETHER.

WE MUST KEEP ALERT:

-- TO THE MANY COMMON ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES WE SHARE IN THIS INTERDEPENDENT WORLD, FOR EXAMPLE, IN ASSURING SUFFICIENT SUPPLIES OF ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES;

-- TO THE COMMON MORAL RESPONSIBILITY WE SHARE FOR OVERCOMING THE ALARMING INCREASE IN NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES;

-- TO THE NECESSITY FOR INSURING EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE YOUNG;

-- TO EXTERNAL DANGER BY MAINTAINING QUANTITATIVELY AND QUALITATIVELY A FORCE CAPABLE OF DEFENDING OUR WAY OF LIFE; AND

-- TO INTERNAL THREAT BY STRIVING FOR THE NECESSARY

BALANCE THAT WILL INSURE INDIVIDUAL FREE ACTIONS DO  
NOT ENDANGER THE COMMON WELFARE.

AT ALL TIMES AS WE DO THIS WE MUST CONSIDER THE  
COURAGEOUS HERITAGE OF PHILADELPHIA AND FRANKFURT, OF  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CARL SCHURZ, OF WOODROW WILSON AND  
KONRAD ADENAUER.

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SO THEN, JUST AS THE GREAT APOSTLE, IN WHOSE HONOR THIS  
CHURCH WAS CONSECRATED, EXHORTED US IN HIS EPISTLE TO  
THE HEBREWS TO RECALL THAT HOPE IS THE "SURE AND FIRM  
ANCHOR" OF THE SOUL, SO ALSO LET US NOW PLEDGE PATIENCE  
AND PERSEVERANCE WITH ONE ANOTHER, MINDFUL OF TWO-  
HUNDRED YEARS OF A REMARKABLE PAST, IN WORKING TOGETHER,  
AS IN 1776 AND 1848, TO OVERCOME THE THREATS OF TODAY  
FOR THE UNIVERSAL GLORY OF TOMORROW. END TEXT  
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